



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Mississippi Valley in British Politics. A Study of the Trade, Land Speculation, and Experiments in Imperialism culminating in the American Revolution by Clarence Walworth Alvord. Cleveland, U. S. A.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1917. Two vols., pp. 358+396, including maps and bibliography.

In the preface to these fine volumes the author disclaims any purpose of preparing a systematic narrative of the events preceding the American Revolution. That is, he does not intend to enumerate with catalogued completeness the happenings which antedated and occasioned that struggle. So far gone in heresy is Doctor Alvord that he omits the time-honored descriptions of the Boston "massacre" and the Boston tea party. For an account of these incidents in the epic the disappointed reader must consult the pages of the older school histories of the United States. Those who belong to the generation just preceding that of the author's boyhood will miss, at this point, the theatrical speech and tragic mien of that youthful leader who complained to a British officer that his soldier's had wantonly broken down the children's snow-hills. To our young mind it was always much of a mystery how in far-off England the King's ministers could know that a gentle incline slopes down from Beacon Street to the Common and of what possible advantage it could be to put to flight the pleasures of youth. But, after all, was our insight into the springs of history so far inferior to that of many an early chronicler who was persuaded that the muse of research pursued him with a message?

Though Professor Alvord's theme lies to a great extent in the West, he does not intend to write of that romantic section. He modestly claims for his inquiries no greater value than the subordinate merit of assisting later historians to discover the connection between the Mississippi valley and British politics. As will presently appear, he has done far more, for it does not require much skill in the art of divination to foretell that his footprints will be tracked through moor and fell to the main stream of history. He has himself made that discovery.

Correctly assuming that a satisfactory explanation of the

beginnings of our Republic can be gained by only a thorough study of the annals of contemporary England, the author has fixed his attention on the rapid succession of eighteenth century ministries, hoping in those political caldrons, where boiled and bubbled "eye of newt and toe of frog," to perceive in germinal state a governmental policy for the West. In disposing of that section the regulating principle of the government appears to have been identical with the interest of a faction.

"Your people are fools," wrote Frederick the Great to the Marquis d'Argens, "you are going to lose your Canada and Pondicherry to please the Queen of Hungary and the Czarina." The treaty of Paris (1763) proved the truth of the Prince's prophecy, for British arms had won not only Canada and the Coromandel coast but Louisiana. How were the victors going to dispose of the conquered colonies and the dependencies of France? The dozen years that passed before Lexington did not suffice for an answer. In the opinion of Doctor Alvord the hesitant attempts to solve this problem were not unconnected with the American Revolution, which, indeed, in any scientific view is to be regarded as but an event, though a major one, in the development of the constitution of England. Relative to America the situation was as obscure as the house of night and the voices within reported little harmony. The task of the author is to interpret those discrepant sounds. Looking into the future, from the date of the treaty of Paris, he perceives the dim outlines of the Stamp Act, the meeting of the Congress to consider which may be regarded as the beginning of the American state, of the Townshend Acts, and the Quebec Act, the last on the eve of Lexington and Concord. In his view these tentative plans for the organization of the West formed "the warp and woof of British imperial policy."

An epigram of Pitt introduces this valuable work. He declared: "Some are for keeping Canada; some Guadaloupe;" and he inquired, "who will tell me which I shall be hanged for not keeping?" The statesman had before him a legislature composed of persons in search of such merchandise as in vision the Pilgrim beheld at Vanity Fair. There, in the flesh, were men who would purchase "houses, lands, trades, places, honours, preferments, titles, countries, kingdoms, lusts, pleasures, and

delights of all sorts, . . . They that kept the fair, Bunyan is careful to remind his readers, "were the men of this world," the children of wrath.

For England, as the reviewer has stated in a notice of Trevelyan's *American Revolution*, "the conclusion of peace was only less expensive than the conduct of the late campaign, because the approval of a venal Parliament was secured by only the most lavish distribution of public money. The business of bribery was managed without observing even a pretence of secrecy. Members of the House of Commons flocked to the Pay Office, in which a shop had been publicly opened for their purchase. Bank-bills as low as two hundred pounds were exchanged for the promise of a vote, and in a single morning there was issued the sum of £25,000. Thus was effected the chief event of Bute's brief ministry, and to the integrity and virtue of such legislators were committed the great and varied interests of an empire."

Pitt's policy was far from being intricate. His object was so to depress the power of France that she could never again in commerce or in colonizing become a formidable rival of England. But in France was the Duc de Choiseul, who saw not less clearly than Pitt, and who began so to organize the resources of his country that in favorable circumstances he could dismember the proud empire of Britain. Professor Alvord has taken for the subject of his interesting inquiry the trade, the land speculation, and the experiments in imperialism between 1763 and 1775.

In the course of the eighteenth century, says the author, "Whiggism became a necessary attribute of aspirants for political honors." But the history of that era is not, as was formerly believed, to be understood by assuming what did not exist, namely, a rivalry between Whig and Tory. For a generation the arrogance and the genius of Pitt had put an end to party government, but when parties disappeared, factions marked by inconstancy sprang up and by banding together ruled the empire for their own advancement. Of these groups the Old Whigs seem to have been the strongest. The popular estimate of them suffered nothing from the fact that their spokesman was Edmund Burke, a master of universal erudition, a man of lofty patriotism, and one of the greatest writers of English prose.

Another strong faction was made up of the dependents of the Crown. More constant to their principles were the followers of William Pitt, a party which included some of the foremost men in England. Another important unit was that composed of the Scottish representatives, who prospered by the gifts of the Crown, which they unanimously supported. Dr. Alvord describes many other groups. Together these factions embarrassed the early years of the King, though in time he shaped matters more to his liking.

With the background suggested by the preceding paragraphs the author begins his narrative. The value of Prussian assistance to England during the Seven Years' War he fails to emphasize. Even though that contest belongs chiefly to European history the services of Frederick should have been noticed. On this subject the ideas of most Americans, of even many of those who will read Professor Alvord's book, have been formed by the school histories, and these clearly convey the impression that England and her colonies defeated France and her feeble New World settlements. But anything which in Europe gave employment to French soldiers was an undoubted advantage to England. Without British subsidies, indeed, the power of Frederick must have been destroyed, but he repaid that service and had a share in driving France from North America, nor could the aid of Spanish ships and Spanish treasure avert disaster to her arms.

In considering their North American conquests British statesmen regarded as of little value those Northern provinces which produced commodities similar to those of England. As potential rivals, therefore, the flow of population thither was to be discouraged, while the development of the Southern colonies with their non-English staples was to be fostered. But not every faction held these opinions. Franklin as well as his friend Richard Jackson, colonial agent of Pennsylvania, espousing the cause of the King, advised the retention of Canada and asserted that there was no danger of the colonies declaring their independence, for mutual jealousies would retard or altogether prevent separation. When victory was assured, there sprang up between pamphleteers an animated warfare as to whether Canada or Guadaloupe was the more important. While some em-

phasized the worth of Canada, there were others who argued for the retention of Louisiana. Though it is true that Englishmen generally, even intelligent ones, knew little of the physical features or of the resources of their late conquests, the Lords of Trade and Plantations had without doubt received from colonial governors and their deputies much information concerning the trans-Alleghany region, its people, and its products. It is entirely probable that when such papers were received in England they were not often published. A digest of these communications, which is to be found in the Library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in Philadelphia, extends to more than a score of beautiful manuscript volumes. It is greatly to be regretted that copies of so valuable a work have not been multiplied.

The moneyed classes, says the author, were keenly interested in the exploitation of the wilderness. They, it appears, had a pecuniary rather than a patriotic interest in the boundless acquisitions of the Seven Years' War. Land speculation and the trade in furs soon became general. The Ohio Company with its immense holdings was early in the field. Before a dozen years had passed the Loyal Company received from North Carolina a grant that in extent was vast. In the course of the war military enthusiasm had been stimulated by the offer to deserving soldiers of generous grants of land. Indeed so keen was competition that rival companies sometimes allied themselves with the Indians. Franklin and others proposed the establishment in the West of two or more barrier colonies, while Samuel Hazard, a Philadelphia merchant, modestly named himself as the lord proprietor of an extensive colony to be settled by Protestants, but death wrecked his plans for the founding of that orthodox settlement. Colonel George Washington championed the cause of his soldiers, who, by a proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie, were promised Western lands. Among the new associations were the Mississippi Company, the New Wales Colony, and Charlottina. Colonel Bouquet would protect the settlements by the establishment of a military frontier. But, on the whole, Englishmen took little interest in those ephemeral projects.

In treating the early Western policy of Great Britain, Professor Alvord says that the wisest legislation could not have avoided the clash between the white man and the Indian. Among

the actors in this historical drama he does not purpose to distribute praise or blame, his plan being merely to explain the motives of those characters who wrangled for a part in the tragedy. Of those vanished actors gold had ruled in many a hireling heart. It appears as if some felon spirit of a distant past had condemned the Indian to lose both his hunting grounds and cornfields. For a season, it is true, he was suffered to live amongst familiar streams and forests only in a little while to resume his journey toward the setting sun in which, perhaps unfeeling, he read his doom. We do not perfectly agree with Doctor Alvord, for we believe that relations with the Indians could have been more wisely arranged.

Obstacles, apparently insurmountable, confronted ministries in the epoch between 1748 and 1774. Statesmen of that era were compelled amidst mighty forces to tread a winding way. There were "Indian rights, fur-trading companies, frontier settlers, rival land companies, imperial interests, colonial charters" as well as powerful forces inherent in the Western domain. To evoke from such interests anything like harmony required the inspiration of genius. Though uniformity in dealing with the aboriginal races had been recommended by earlier colonial officials, before 1748 no Western policy had been formulated. In that situation the colonies were free to develop different systems. Doubtless under each the Indian suffered.

Men of large fortune, whether in England or the colonies, who had made considerable investments in land east of the mountains did not favor westward expansion. The author gives a list of those who were large holders in East Florida. In extent their tracts ranged from 5,000 to 40,000 acres, the Earls of Beresford and Dartmouth having been among the principal investors. These were naturally opposed to any westward expansion, for in that case their lands situated east of the mountains would be certain to depreciate in value. There was another class whose sense of justice was opposed to allowing frontiersmen to swarm without restraint over lands which had long been the home of the native races. In this view was concerned conscience as well as patriotism, for the empire would be unfavorably affected by Indian wars. Therefore this group advocated conciliation of the natives.

Besides the question of occupying the lands of the Indians there was that concerning trade, a problem bristling with difficulties. Should traffic with the tribes be regulated by colonial or by imperial authority? Attempts at the settlement of this question produced two plans, namely, the imperial and the anti-imperial. Under the existing system the Indians had been defrauded of their lands and cheated in trade. Their better treatment by the French inclined the natives to that people. In what manner this condition could be changed by the colonists had been pointed out to the Lords of Trade at least as early as 1721. But that recommendation appears to have aroused no interest.

Though the colonists were responsible for much of the trouble with the aboriginal races, they made but indifferent exertions to defend themselves from the resentment of their victims, the mother country having been forced to come to their assistance. In such circumstances she was not unreasonable in expecting the colonies to support a commissary general or superintendent of Indian affairs. Her object was to put an end to the encroachment of the French on territory claimed by the English.

British statesmen were more abundantly supplied with information when William Johnson, afterward knighted, was appointed overseer of the northern, and, by the death of the original appointee, John Stuart became overseer of the southern Indians. The report prepared by Wraxall, Johnson's secretary, greatly influenced subsequent policy. It recommended that relative to their complaints concerning lands satisfaction be made the Indians, and that future patents be granted for only such tracts as were bought in the presence of the superintendents.

Pennsylvania promised, by a treaty made in 1758 at Easton, that within its limits no settlements would be made beyond the mountains. Though this example was not without influence, the principle was not yet extended by the ministry to the other colonies. In future settlements the rights of the Indians to their lands were not to be disregarded. Under Lord Halifax the Board of Trade had imperialized the political control of Indian affairs. The purchase of their lands, too, was gradually withdrawn from the colonies and assumed by the Government. But whatever regulations were made during the course of the

war were generally believed to be no more than temporary arrangements.

At that time it was resolved to keep in America a military force to protect the country, especially the new acquisitions, against invasion and from those Indians who were pro-French in sympathy; also to hold in check the new subjects in Canada, Louisiana, and the Floridas. When the government called for a detailed statement of the necessary troops and fortifications, the governor of Montreal suggested that small garrisons be maintained at certain posts and that officers be vested with judicial authority. It was a measure of obvious necessity and evidently it was from this idea that was developed the principle subsequently embodied in the decision to maintain in America a force of ten thousand troops. A sharp eye may here perceive the contour of a cloud "no bigger than a man's hand." Though unconnected with the original suggestion, Welbore Ellis, a commonplace person whose name has been preserved from oblivion by the pen of *Junius*, appears to have had a share in giving it shape, while the support of Pitt, when the matter was before Parliament, seems to have silenced opposition. At that stage there was no thought of oppressing the colonists, for it appears reasonable that they should support the troops intended for their defense, and reasonable it would have been, if, instead of sending soldiers to New York and Boston, small garrisons had been maintained at the former French strongholds and at the chief fur-trading stations, such as Quebec and Detroit.

When the Earl of Bute, probably because of ill health, laid down the cares of office, the strong character in the new ministry was William Petty Fitzmaurice, Earl of Shelburne, a native of Dublin and a descendant of the Lords of Kerry. This statesman is, perhaps, better known as the first Marquess of Lansdowne. To the vigor of youth and a strong ambition may be ascribed the thoroughness with which he examined letters, reports from superintendents of Indian affairs, and communications from colonial governors as well as other officials. The perusal of this mass of information made him on all American questions an undoubted authority. Of the matters demanding his attention three were fundamental, namely, the maintenance of an army, the regulation of the Indian trade, and the possible contribution by the

colonies to the proposed imperial establishment. Action on these questions could be taken only after receiving information which had been requested.

Shelburne, who was not opposed to westward expansion, concluded that the new colonies could be located only where there was no danger of disturbing the rights of the Indians. This limitation described the valley of the St. Lawrence and the Floridas. As to the form of government for such plantations Shelburne did not agree with his colleagues; he was opposed to sinecures as well as patronage and favored political institutions more democratic than the existing ones. He would have the governors of the new colonies elected by the people. His ideas were defeated, however, by the influence, as he believed, of George Grenville, whose ignorance of America had much to do with the subsequent division of the empire. If Shelburne had been consistently supported, the history of the British empire would in all probability have been different from what it is.

The despicable tricks of traders and the arrival through the passes in the Alleghanies of white settlers who encroached on the Indian hunting grounds made it plain to the aborigines that their expulsion had been decreed. This feeling rendered unnecessary any interested explanation by the French, and, before long, Pontiac organized a force which in a few weeks was able to sweep the English from the West. This outbreak convinced the Lords of Trade that they had too long delayed their intended protection of the Indians. When, in October, 1763, a proclamation was finally issued, it quieted the Indians, but operated on the Canadian French with a discrimination that was gross. Yet it was not the result of a tyrannical disposition on the part of the conquerors, but rather of ministerial ignorance of American conditions. Nevertheless, when the blunder was known, it was not corrected for ten years, and during that period the vanquished French grievously suffered from its enforcement.

From the pen of Governor Murray the reader gets a vivid description of the worthies sent out "to rule by land and sea." Long before, in accounting for the inferior character of the clergy on the Irish establishment, Swift gravely explained that men of integrity and virtue had actually set forth from London, but that in crossing Hounslow Heath they were set upon by highway-

men, who exchanged garments with the ecclesiastics and went over to the sister island to assume apostolic functions. With the officers sent to rule the Canadians, however, the case was a little different, for on them the prison shades had fallen before they arrived at that classical resort.

Were Canadian Catholics subject to the same disabilities and penalties as their co-religionists in England? An attorney-general declared that they were not, while the humane Archbishop of York advised in dealing with those new subjects the adoption of a policy that was mild. At that time there was in the minds of many an expectation that kindness would ultimately convert the French settlers to Protestantism.

From their own people the Canadian priests were to receive the customary tithes. It was likewise provided that all orders of monks and nuns were to be abolished, the Jesuits immediately. One would think that the services of the latter would have secured them some indulgence, but it is certain that Englishmen of that era knew far less about Jesuit achievements than did our own historian Parkman, who though he approved of their exploits never could muster the courage to praise them. Rev. Olivier Briand was permitted to travel to Amiens, where he was consecrated Bishop of Quebec. Returning to Canada as "Superintendent of the Clergy," he received a salary of two hundred pounds a year. This restoration of rights by the method of instalment was a measure of justice performed by the Old Whigs, and, as one would expect, had the support of Edmund Burke. The author carefully describes the successive steps by which Canadian Catholics ultimately acquired civil and religious rights.

In his volumes Professor Alvord has represented many characters and described a multitude of facts, but the relation of the latter one to another and their subordination to the whole is skillfully arranged. The events which are discussed are not introduced because of their intrinsic interest, but for the reason that they contribute to the progress of the narrative. To enumerate their separate merits would require the space of a pamphlet. Therefore, in this place, we can make only a few general remarks about the author's scholarly investigation.

In the reviewer's college days the twelfth chapter of Lecky's *History of England During the Eighteenth Century* was recommended

as a good foundation for a study of the causes of the Revolutionary war. But admirable as is the summary by the gifted Irish historian, Doctor Alvord has made many important additions to, and not a few alterations in that familiar outline. Though he perceives the limitations of the Canadians, he has praise for their undoubted virtues. To him the short-comings of the British at home or abroad are not as is "a landscape to a blind man's eye." Legislation concerning religious matters is examined with candor. Without being elegant in style, and at fine writing there is no attempt, the form of this work is admirably adapted to the nature of the inquiry. The composition is everywhere clear, and throughout there are unmistakable evidences of the exercise of care as well as intelligence. In a word, the book is marked by the thoroughness characteristic of all Professor Alvord's work. In the opinion of the present reviewer these volumes form the most important contribution which for many years has been made to the literature on the American Revolution. A most comprehensive bibliography completes this valuable study.

Christopher Columbus in Poetry, History and Art. By Sara Agnes Ryan. Chicago: The Mayer & Miller Co., 1917. Pp. 165.

By the later grammarians the feminine form *authoress*, which served our precise ancestors, has been relegated to the class of outworn words. With other elements of former diction it is soon to be sought in the glossaries which explain archaic terms. Therefore Miss Ryan will be referred to as the author. Her share of this miscellany is not great. Yet from her few and short paragraphs it is clear that she does not worship contemporary specialists who treat the various phases of the eventful era of Columbus. However, it is well to be familiar with the outlines of one's field before deriding the authorities. But Miss Ryan is not writing a monograph, a biography or a history. According to her plan the poets are made to relate the story of the discovery of America. Commencing with the boyhood of Columbus, he is made to proceed man, as the Elizabethans would say, then pilot, cosmographer seaman, admiral, and discoverer.

The usual canons of criticism fail one in attempting to estimate the worth of such an anthology as this, for it has been wisely